Vol. 3. No. 2. Sixth month (June), 1909

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia

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NOTE.—The Editor does not hold himself responsible for any statements made in contributed articles.

All communications for the BULLETIN should be addressed to Allen C. Thomas, Editor, Haverford, Pa.

All dues and subscriptions should be paid to Mary S. Allen, Secretary-Treasurer, 142 N. 16th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Subscriptions, $1 per annum. All members receive the BULLETIN free.

HADDON HALL OF HADDONFIELD.

(Read before Annual Meeting of Friends' Historical Society, Philadelphia., First Month 25th, 1909.)

BY SAMUEL N. RHOADS.

In the year 1702, "upon the first day of the Tenth Month," there was a quiet, yet most romantic, Quaker wedding in a humble house on the south bank of Cooper's Creek, about a mile north of the present Borough of Haddonfield, New Jersey.

Simplicity within, and the rude surroundings of a pioneer's cabin without, could not, however, conceal the fact that this, the sixteenth Friends' wedding in Old Newton Township, was no ordinary affair. Among the twenty men and fourteen women signing the wedding certificate, we find the names of Samuel Jennings, Governor of West Jersey; Samuel Carpenter, wealthiest and best-loved merchant of Philadelphia at that time, and Anthony Morris, afterward Mayor of that city. Thus surrounded, in the words of the certificate, "at a Public Meeting at the house of the said Elizabeth Haddon, appointed and held on purpose for the full accomplishment and solemnizing of the said marriage, they, the said John Estaugh and Elizabeth [Haddon] openly and solemnly in the presence of the said Meeting did take each other in Marriage to Husband and Wife." The bride, so lately arrived from London in this home of her maiden choice, has promised "to be unto him a faithful and loving wife," John Estaugh, the gentle groom, signs his name with trembling, yet fervent, stroke. In turn his better-half now grasps the proffered quill, and lo! with steady hand she spells—"Elizabeth"—and then, without a tremor—"H-a-d-d-o-n."!

Emphasis is given to this incident to show why the name of Haddon, in defiance of custom, has clung, and will cling, to everything that the wife of John Estaugh did or possessed, whether in the land of her birth or of her adoption.*

*In about one in twenty Quaker marriage certificates of this period the bride has signed her maiden name for the last time.

John Clement, late historian of Haddonfield, published, in 1873, a short article in the *American Historical Record,* entitled "The Estaugh House." This mansion, with its accompaniments, will form the subject of my paper. I shall designate it by the appropriate name of Haddon Hall, given to it by its last occupants, the family of the late Isaac H. Wood. To distinguish it from the classic old ruin of Derbyshire, we have but to add—"of Haddonfield"—and its identity is complete, and the chance vision of a Dorothy Vernon is transformed into the more real, yet no less romantic and loving one, of Elizabeth, the Maiden Pioneer.

That first American dwelling, where the noble wife of John Estaugh began her housekeeping, was located near the centre of a 500-acre tract bought by her father, John Haddon of Londontown, in 1698. A Friend, John Willis, had been the original patentee from Penn and Byllynge, and John's son, Thomas, sold it to John Haddon. The original house was located about 150 yards from the south bank of Cooper's Creek, on ground rising about thirty feet above the tidewater landing at that point. The landing, now unused, was recently called Coles' Landing, after the late owner of the property. It is in the extreme rear of the present village of Westmont, formerly named Rowandtown, and is one and one-half miles below the bridge over which the King's Highway, from Burlington to Salem, crosses Cooper's Creek. No vestige of this house has been known to the oldest inhabitants now living, nor to the generation preceding these, so far as can be ascertained. The late James Starr Lippincott, who once lived on the property adjoining, used to point out the reputed site of the old house cellar, but even that cannot now be located with any accuracy.

Elizabeth was nearly twenty-one years old when she took possession of this home, not nineteen, as stated by Judge Clement in his "First Settlers of Newton Township."

Our knowledge of its construction is based wholly on circumstantial or traditional evidence. Regarding this, I quote Clement (l. c. p. 115) :—"It has been generally believed that she erected the first house on this tract of land, bringing with her much of the material from England. This is an error, as a map of the

land made by Thomas Sharp in 1700 (which was before her arrival) proves that buildings were already on the land; and it is supposable that she occupied those already there. John Willis, the locator of the survey, no doubt put the dwelling there* and [perhaps] lived on the premises some time, for fourteen years had elapsed between the date of the taking up and John Haddon's title. She probably enlarged and improved the house so as to accord with her notions of convenience and comfort, and to receive her friends in a proper manner; for it is known that she never turned the stranger away from her door, or suffered her acquaintances to look for entertainment elsewhere.

"This house stood on the brow of a hill on the south side of Cooper's Creek * * * and near that stream, which in those days was much used as a means of travel; and according to the custom of the times in giving a name to such settlements, it was called 'Haddonfield.' This name was retained until the building of the new house in 1713, erected still nearer the village as it now stands; after which it was called 'Old Haddonfield' in order to distinguish it from the more modern and extensive settlement last mentioned."

It is worth noting in this connection that the said John Willis, known as a Philadelphia ship-carpenter in 1696, was no doubt a neighbor of John Haddon in Southwark, the latter furnishing him anchors for his ships before he came to America. This explains John Haddon's purchase of the property on Cooper's Creek from Willis's son in 1698, he also living in Southwark. The absence of data for the elder Willis, after 1696, indicates that he died about that time, and the purchase was probably made in a settlement of his estate. The family name of Willis was also prominent on the old minute books of Horslydown Meeting, in Southwark, when Elizabeth Haddon was a girl, so we can see more plainly the chain of circumstances which finally led her to this wilderness home across the broad Atlantic.

In any event, we are safe in picturing the *Old* Haddonfield house as a very modest home when the dauntless maiden and her servants began the American housekeeping so admirably

*Other records of his personal transactions in Old Newton show he lived in Philadelphia, a ship carpenter, in 1696.

dramatized by Longfellow's poem "Elizabeth."* It was not then necessary for it to be otherwise, for doubtless her most sanguine admirers looked on it as an experiment. But Elizabeth, ever the queen of her own destiny, was no mere enthusiast. She had wonderful openings of the duties and possibilities of life in America. Her's was not even "A Holy Experiment," like that of Penn, but a whole-souled purpose, a total renunciation of the fatherland as a home and an absolute adoption of the new Canaan. Everything that we know, and all that is dimly shadowed in her history, goes to prove this. Even the glamour which romance has shed around her love-affair with John Estaugh, coupled with the absence of any certificate or record of her removal to America, gives color to the surmise that she foresaw in the New World that social equality and freedom which would enable her to marry and live happily with an Irishman so lowly born and poor in this world's goods, but so rich in heavenly treasure. While she lived in London, mayhap, such a life was impossible!

Much as one would love to linger in the fairy-land of conjecture as to the sort of house in which John and Elizabeth Estaugh married and spent the first eleven years of their married life, let us now pass to the period in 1713, when they began to build a more commodious dwelling. Longfellow has taken Lydia Maria Child's story of the "Youthful Emigrant,"** and given us a rare pastoral of simple cottage-life. To these the student is referred, while we consider the *second* period of Elizabeth Estaugh's life marked by the building of Haddon Hall. The "New Haddonfield" home site was a mile distant across lots from the old one and a quarter-mile from the present junction of the King's Highway (Haddonfield Main Street) and the old turnpike, now styled Haddon Avenue. The Hall stood on the highest knoll near the centre of a 500-acre tract which John Haddon bought of Richard Matthews the same year the Willis tract was acquired. This plantation adjoined the other one on the south and east, including, on its southeastern half, nearly all of that part of the Borough of Haddonfield lying north and west of the Main Street. A long lane at right-angles to the present Had-

*See Aftermath, Boston, 1873, pp. 38-62.

**Fact and Fiction, N. York, 1846, pp. 40-60.

don Avenue has, for many generations, given access to that thoroughfare, but it is quite likely that the original lane ran directly from near the front of the house to the present corner of Main and Tanner Streets, where a lively tradition locates the residence of Elizabeth's chief butler.

A more eligible site for a fine house than the one selected by our loving pair does not exist in the neighborhood, and a fine house has always stood on this site for nearly two hundred years, with the exception of a few months in 1842, when the original Haddon Hall was burned and a new brick mansion was erected by Isaac H. Wood on the same foundations.

The construction of Haddon Hall was not necessitated by an increase in the number of American Estaughs. It was undoubtedly due, in part, to the expectation that John Haddon and his wife would spend their declining years in New Jersey. Some letters from London of that period indicate this very plainly, but the infirmities of old age and the dread of an ocean voyage prevented the journey. Other reasons made it fitting that the Estaughs should enlarge their borders. John, all unwittingly perhaps, had been drawn into a strenuous business life as attorney for his father-in-law and sole agent of the Pennsylvania Land Company of London. Elizabeth, connected by ties of kinship and friendship with the most influential Friends of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and quickly assuming a responsible position in Church and society, had become a great entertainer.

A retinue of servants and pensioners was the result, and the great house became a necessity. The growing wealth of John Haddon furnished the means to amply provide for every want, and there is little doubt that he paid most of the bills in London, for they do not appear among the papers of his daughter.

Haddonfield, at this time, was not the name for even a village; it literally was The Fields of Haddon. There were probably not more than two or three dwellings on the Main Street of the present town, and they of the most primitive sort,—a tavern, a blacksmith shop, a log cabin or two at magnificent distances. In short, the town of Haddonfield was not on the map, not even dreamt of, when the Estaughs had the cellar dug for the new mansion on the knoll. Six feet below ground it went

and two feet above the thick foundation walls of rough-hewn Pennsylvania gneiss were laid, no doubt being floated up the creek in barges to Stoy's Landing, at high-tide. The floor of this cellar was, in part, covered with the square flag-bricks, which, there is every reason to suppose, were made in England, and whose origin must not be confounded with that of the ordinary bricks of the building, made, no doubt, in the neighborhood.

Having thus, like the Biblical wise man, "digged deep and founded the building on a rock," as literally as was possible in West Jersey soil, the superstructure was built of brick to the height of two and a half stories in the main building and to two stories in the annex. A word as to these bricks and their origin. They still do duty in the present buildings, and measure 8⅞ x 4 x 2½ inches, being three-fourths of an inch longer and one-quarter inch thicker than the present standard brick. The popular notion that shiploads of bricks were brought over from England to construct the homes of the early colonists may have some foundation, but we have proof that bricks were being manufactured in Burlington, New Jersey, before Philadelphia was even a name. Some of William Penn's early building operations at the Manor, made use of bricks made by J. Redman, of Philadelphia, and in a letter of Hannah Penn's to Penn's secretary, James Logan, dated 1700, she says that "a new [brick] maker at Burlington" now makes them "a crown a thousand cheaper and as much better" than Redman's sort.

It is certain that by 1713 brickmaking had become a regular industry in West Jersey, and where surface clay was accessible on a plantation, the materials for large building operations like this were manufactured on the estate as closely as possible to the operation. There is an old clay pond, or marsh, just across the turnpike from, and nearly opposite to the Haddon Hall site, and distant therefrom about 300 yards.

From my infancy almost to this day, the fenny shallows of this pool have harbored many a mystery known only to frogs, mosquitos and boys. Only of late years has it dawned upon me that this blemish on the once fertile field of the Redman family was a legacy of the thrift of their collateral ancestor, Elizabeth Estaugh, in her building operations.

Doubtless from this, or a similar depression on the farm, where clay marl of the best quality for firing is known to lie close to the surface, came the "English bricks" which fiction has made illustrious. The square flag-bricks which paved the garden walks and cellar floors (as already hinted), were probably imported, being of finer workmanship, a different color and of another sort of clay. Their size was exactly double that of the ordinary kind.

Unfortunately we do not now have access to any memoranda of the workmen or building expenses of Haddon Hall. These records, if existing, are probably in England, owned by some member of the Butcher family of London. It is not impossible that Francis Collins, master carpenter and mason, may have had a hand in planning and erecting the homestead. He was then an old man, but a close and trusty friend of Elizabeth, his daughters being her intimate associates. In 1675 he built the Stepney Meeting House, in London, and in 1682, the old octagonal Friends' Meeting House in Burlington, N. J. Another house-builder of the period was William Matlack, of Penisauken, who, four years later bought 200 acres of land of John Haddon. Or it may be an explanation of the subsequent family relations between the Estaughs and the Redmans, that one of the latter family, known to be Philadelphia carpenters, may have helped build Haddon Hall. In any event it could have been built by no other than a Quaker, and of good Quaker materials and workmanship!

We owe our present knowledge of the outward appearance and inner construction of Haddon Hall chiefly to two sources. The first is a small water-color sketch made by the brother of Thomas Redman the third, John Evans Redman, of Philadelphia, whose maternal ancestor was a niece of Elizabeth Estaugh. Redman was of an artistic and literary turn, and delighted in the beauties of his brother's country-home. He contributed some descriptive and poetical essays to the *Philadelphia Casket* in the early thirties, illustrated with woodcuts, by Gilbert, after the author's sketches of Haddonfield scenes. John Clement says that this water-color view of Haddon Hall was made by John Evans Redman in 1821, but a legend of rather modern writing on the back of it gives the date about ten years later.

The most reliable source of facts of the latter sort is Rebecca C. W. Reeve, oldest daughter of Isaac and Elizabeth Cooper Wood, and who was a child of eight years when the house was burned. It had been the home of her parents from 1831 until the fire destroyed it, in 1842. To the kind and thoughtful courtesy of Rebecca Reeve and to her love of the parental homestead, still held by her brother, Samuel Wood, added to a good memory of the stirring events of the night of the fire, we owe much.

I can do no better than quote from her letter to me about the old Hall:

[Camden, N. J.]

S. N. Rhoads:—

Respected Friend, Thee requests a Plan of Haddon Hall, my old and well-loved home, which I enclose—made on a large scale as easier to draw. The House was brick, rough-cast and yellow—the Kitchen part also brick and rough-cast. The Garden wall enclosed the North and East sides only—a fence running along close to the box-tree walk, with the one yew tree near the gate.

The path from Hall door to front yard gate was in same position as at present—but the flag-bricks have been twice reset—the last time by my brother Samuel Wood.

The fire occurred about midnight of the 14th of April (Second day night of Yearly Mtg. week in Phila) 1842.

My Father, Isaac Hornor Wood, and Mother Elizabeth H. Cooper Wood—with their children, Rebecca Cooper, William Cooper, Isaac Hornor Jr and Alexander Cooper, the latter six months old, with their three Colored maids, two cold boys and a white man, constituted the household. One colored boy lost his life in the fire. The fire started in kitchen, and supposedly by a man retiring late and dropping a match.

Much of furniture in main part of house was saved by herculean efforts, and also on account of very thick wall, between the main and kitchen part of house. A trunk full of valuable family papers, which had been kept in a room on third floor for safe-keeping, was not secured by the man sent for them; therefore burned, an irreparable loss.

Some of the walls were standing next morning; but pulled down when cool, and the bricks used in rebuilding.

The front door, (and also either the back hall door or door of kitchen we know not which) were lifted from the hinges and carried out—and are now used as cellar doors in my brother's home*.

The Barns were not damaged.

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*See frontispiece.

The present descendants of E. Haddon have my parents to thank for the *preservation, enlarging* and beautifying the place: as it had been sold by the *Sheriff,* and despoilers had been busy before their purchase of it. It has been in family of Isaac and Elizabeth Wood for seventy-seven years.

The original of the picture sold under the name of the "Estaugh House 1776 to 1876" was made during the residence in it of Sarah Cresson, whose carriage in the lane is shown in the picture.

REBECCA C. W. REEVE.

February eleventh, Nineteen hundred and eight.

It may be here added that the only building now standing on the property, originally constructed for Elizabeth Estaugh, is her old brick brew house, the exterior and interior of which are shown in the accompanying double plate. It stands about 30 feet from the rear of the mansion.

The plans of the first and second stories, as remembered by Rebecca Reeve, accompanied the letter. A study of these, as also of Redman's sketch, shows a considerable annex on the north end of the main building. The front of this annex in the water-color view plainly appears to project *beyond* the mansion some distance, apparently four to six feet. In the Reeve plan the reverse of this is represented.

This two-story, four-roomed "Annex," as I have called it, with its pent-roof, low ceilings and apparent lack of cellar,* strongly suggests having been built *before* the larger building to which it was attached. This is quite likely, and it would have formed ample accommodations for a year or more during which the main building and its accessories were being leisurely completed after the good, old, conservative, Quaker fashion. That the two parts of Haddon Hall were separately built is further shown by the fact that the walls between them were double-thick, and the first floor of the smaller structure was about three feet lower than that of its neighbor, and the height of the ceilings so different that no second-story connection existed between them. Future researches may show that a period of five or six years elapsed between the construction of the two buildings, and that the larger one was built with a view of bringing John Haddon and his wife over to live with their favorite children

*The wine vault was probably under the front room of this part.

ELIZABETH ESTAUGH'S BREW HOUSE

Built about 1713—Photographed 1909

ESTAUGH BREWERY FIREPLACE

Swinging Crane and Limbeck

during their declining years. There are several well-known facts which favor this theory. As the present building stands on the ancient foundations, we know that the frontage of the old one was 43 feet and the gable end 36 feet wide. The annex must have increased the total frontage, as seen coming up the lane, to 60 feet.

Measurements of the old front-door, now in the cellar, show that the height of the first story rooms was about 12 feet, almost palatial for that day and neighborhood. The front porch and entrance and main hallway were quite in keeping, the former approached by four or five wide steps rising about three feet, the latter about ten feet across and running clear through to a back door.

The drawing room, or parlor, was on the right, and a smaller bed room back of it. Each of these had great diagonally constructed fireplaces in adjoining corners, opening up into the huge double chimney of the gable end. On each side of the mantelpieces were three-cornered cupboards with glass doors. The fireplaces were tiled with imported Delft, of blue, white and maroon figures. On the south, or garden side of the parlor were glass and latticed doors opening by a covered porch to the wide walk between the box-bushes and new trees.

The living and sitting room fronted on the left side of the hall. It had a great fireplace midway of the north wall and a door leading across the stairway of the annex into the front room of that part. Back of this living room were the spacious rear hallways, staircases and pantry, with rear entrance by a descent of four steps to the floor of the adjoining annex room. In more modern times, this rear room was the *dining room,* and the room in front the *kitchen,* an arrangement quite surprising, and the reverse of what we would expect in household management.

Probably in the days of the Estaughs, the front room held the festive board, which tradition has made us believe had no near rival in the latter reign of the hospitable Elizabeth. This view is borne out by the fact of the direct connection of the sitting room with the front annex room; also because the pantry and store room were directly accessible to the rear room, naturally, therefore, the kitchen. On the north side of each of these

annex rooms was a large open fireplace. Oh, what savory odors can one imagine going up that sooty chimney's throat on Quarterly Meeting days! These were the days when slaves and home-made liquors were not wholly barred by the Discipline. A finely-arranged, strongly-built and spacious vault was located under the middle wall of the two buildings, to the right of the sitting room fireplace. It was remarkably cool, being three feet deeper than the cellar. Steps descended conveniently near to it from the annex entry and sitting room, for the ready use of the famous butler who always presided at the feasts of Haddon Hall, and whose home, tradition says, was at the end of that once long and leafy lane now called Tanner Street. This vault was destroyed when the present house was built, much to the regret of its present occupant. No doubt it was well-stocked with liquid refreshments, tonic beverages and medical potions in those earlier days when Haddon Hall was in the heyday of its reputation as a sort of half-way house between Burlington and Salem Yearly Meetings and Philadelphia.

But let us return to the second story of our bygone mansion. Four rising steps, northward from the middle of the hallway to a square landing, and ten steps more at right angles over the pantry, brings one to the rear of the second story hallway, a spacious area leading by four doorways into as many bed rooms. It is believed that Elizabeth's room was over the sitting room and the opposite one in front reserved for distinguished guests only. Here we can imagine the indefatigable Thomas Chalkley in snoring visions of the days when he was stoned and reviled as he walked to Horslydown School along the streets of ancient Southwark; days when Elizabeth was only big enough to look out of the window and pity "poor Tommy." Or, again, we can picture our hostess, brass candlesticks in hand, guiding Mary Pace (afterward Weston) and Susanna Brown, visiting ministers from England, to their calm night's rest in this self-same room. Imagine their half-uttered exclamations of surprise, when Elizabeth leaves them, at sight of the sumptuous bedstead and its hangings, the marble-top mahogany table, the lofty, gilt mirror, the porcelain-tiled fireplace, with Franklin's handy, new stove in it, and, finest of all, the elegant "high-boy,"

with carved and fluted top and polished brass handles, wherein lay treasured many a precious heirloom of London life and English kindred! Such comforts, in a spot, not thirty years before a forest wilderness, must have deeply impressed the average foreign traveler with amazement at America's progress, and much more so, the concerned Friends from the country districts of England. No doubt some of these faithful messengers from the Mother Land labored gently and lovingly with Elizabeth and John, regarding the proper use of wealth, after duly seeing and handling and tasting the bounteous store of Haddon Hall. But we can well imagine John Estaugh referring all such anxieties to the "head of the house," and she, in turn, was too much of a diplomat not to quiet their fears, and too much of a lady not to inspire their respect and admiration.

We know not a little of the original furnishings of Haddon Hall, much of these being distributed, before the house was burned, among the heirs of Ebenzer Hopkins, Elizabeth Estaugh's adopted nephew, who was my great, great, great grandfather. Among these heirlooms are several fine old chairs; a large marble-top, claw-foot parlor-table; a tall, heavy, gilt-topped parlor mirror; a very tall and finely constructed grandfather's clock, made in London; a truly splendid old chest of drawers, etc., etc. All these show that substantial elegance, which indicates both wealth and thrift, that happy combination which so many strive after, but so few attain.

A search among the journals of traveling ministers of the period between 1720 and 1762 shows that Haddon Hall had almost a monopoly in the hospitalities given to "Public Friends" visiting that neighborhood. Thomas Story, Thomas Wilson and James Dickinson, Benjamin Kidd, William Reckitt, William Ellis, John Fothergill, Samuel Bownas, Mary (Pace) Weston, Catherine Peyton, Edmund Peckover and others, were visitors there from Old England. Besides these, were some from New England and New York, also many prominent Friends from Philadelphia and Burlington. Of these latter, were the Pemberton, Logan, Cadwallader, Smith, Norris, Jennings, Drinker, Waln and Rawle families, with some of whom John Estaugh had dealings both secular and religious. One of the most readable notices of a social visit to the "Widow Estaugh's" is given in the now

well-known book, "Hannah Logan's Courtship," pages 118 and 167, in which, under date of 8th Month 29th, 1747, John Smith, the undaunted lover, records how he followed Hannah to Burlington and took her to Mount Holly that afternoon after meeting. The next day it rained, and Smith secured Governor Belcher's four-wheeled chaise from Burlington about 10 A. M. Putting Jane and his darling Hannah in it—(I now use his words) "We got in pretty good time to Evesham meeting * * * we dined at the wid^{o} Evan's, and after dinner Rode to Eliz^{a} Estaugh's, that is Jane Hannah and I with Eben^{r} Hopkin[s] and Isaiah Andrews. The good widow received us kindly, but the pleasure that I should otherwise have had in the Evening's Conversation was Lost by dear Hannah's having got a pain in her head * * *." The next year Smith records another visit, probably on horseback:—"After dinner Rachel Pemberton, Hannah Logan, Williams wife and I with Chally [Pemberton] went over the river [Delaware] and to Eliza Estaugh's who received us very Courteously and Entertained us very kindly." The next day, he continues:—"We set out from the Good Widows about 10 o'clock. Dined at a Tavern at Morrestown and reached Burlington in the evening" [1st month 28, 29, 1748].

This is only one of the many testimonies which might have been yearly recorded by rich and poor, bond and free, who alike partook of the hospitalities of Haddon Hall and of the bounty and charity of its noble mistress.

Let me call attention to the service Friends may be able to give in tracing out obscure data relating to this house and its original owners.

I am collecting materials for a biography of Elizabeth Haddon and enough has been already published regarding her to show that she is an almost unique character in the annals of the English colonization of the original "Thirteen States." There are some serious deficiencies in the records pertaining to her youth, her emigration, her courtships and her life at both Haddonfields. Romance has bridged these gaps with a fairy combination of fact and fiction. We want the missing *facts;* and many of them no doubt are awaiting our search. I ask that all who can give any clues to the sources of Lydia Maria Child's original story of the "Youthful Emigrant," or to the correspondence between Elizabeth and her relatives in London, or to the heirlooms and papers of John Haddon, or to his ancestry or that of his wife, Elizabeth Clarke, may do so "without unnecessary delay."

MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE OF JOHN ESTAUGH AND ELIZABETH HADDON, 1702.

[The following is an exact copy of the original now in possession of Sarah Nicholson of Haddonfield, New Jersey, made by Samuel N. Rhoads, Fourth Month 29th, 1909.]

"Know all men by These p-ʳsents that Whereas John Estaugh and....Elizabeth Haddon: of the Province West New Jarsey and County of Gloucesster: both Single Persons, the said Elizabeth being Doughter of John Haddon of London In the Kingdom of England, haveing Several times Declared their Intentions of takeing each other in Maryage to Husband and Wife, at the monthly meeteings of Newton to which the belonge according to truthes order, and the Said meeteings having received Sattisfaction Concerneing their clearnesse both by due and orderly Enquire made here and allso by Certificates from Friends in England: as allso the consent of their Parents being hadd, So that the Sᵈ meeteings have given their free Assent & concerrence therewith and thereunto &c—

Thesse therefore may Certifye that upon the first day of the Tenth month in the Yeare One Thousand Seven hundred and two att A Publickue meeteing att the house of the Said Elizabeth Haddon Apoynted and held on Purpose for the full accompleishing and Sollemnizeing of the said maryage they the said John and Elizabeth openly and sollemly in the presence of the Said meeteing did take Each other in maryage to Husband and Wife, the said John Sollemnely promising in thesse Woords, Viz, Friends and Neighbours in the Presence of God and you his people Whome I desire to be my Witnessses I Take this my Freind Elizabeth Haddon to be my Wife—promiseing through the Lords Assistance to be unto her A Loveing husband till ye Lord by death Shall seperate us and the Sᵈ Elizabeth declareing as Followeth Friends in fear of the Lord and before you his people whome I desire to be my witnesses I take this my Freind John Estauge to my husband promiseing through ye Lords Asistance to be unto

him A faithfull and Loveing wife until the Lord by death shall Separate us.....

In Testimony whereof the Said John & Elizabeth have hereunto Sett their hands ye day^{e} & yeare above said.

John Estaugh.
Eliz Haddon.

And Wee Whose Names are Under written being present at the accomplishing of ye Said Maryage do Subscribe o^{r} names as witnesses thereunto.

David Breintnall
Henry Ballinger
Francis Richardson
James Cooper
Joseph Cooper
Sam. Carpenter
Francis Collins
John Jones
Wiliam Cooper
? Wm. Furnis (or Purvis?)
John Wills (or Willis?)
Elizabeth Key
Elizabeth Adams
Esther Spicer
Ann Thackery
Lydia Cooper
Mary Heans
Eliz. Evens
Sarah Ellis
Mary Hanbury
Sibilla Masters
Elizabeth Morris
Hope Wills
Martha Spicer
Abigaill Spicer

James Estaugh
Sam^{ll} Jenings
John Adams
Antho : : Morris
Richard Gove?
Peter Frettwell
William Evans
North Puckle
John Wright
Richard Hunness

ELI YARNALL, THE SEER.

CHARLES YARNALL.

[The following account is from the papers of the late Charles Yarnall (1800-1877), the author of "John Bowne of Flushing," *Bulletin,* vol. 2, No. 2, and is dated by him, First Month 23rd, 1870.]

This person, who in his youth was believed to possess a remarkable faculty of seeing what was existing in distant regions, or rather of seeing wholly irrespective of distance, was the son of George and Mary Yarnall. He was born about the year 1788 and was a descendant of Francis Yarnall, a highly respected Friend, who, in 1684, emigrated from Claynes, in the County of Worcester, England, and became a prominent citizen of Chester County, a member for several years of the Legislature of the Province of Pennsylvania, the holder of an important trust under the Provincial Government.

In the early years of this century* Eli Yarnall removed to Red Stone, now Brownsville, Pennsylvania. Having heard of one extraordinary instance of the exercise of this faculty, I was particularly desirous of availing myself of an opportunity of testing the evidence on which the narrator rested. In the year 1843 I was attending the Yearly Meeting of Baltimore. At the house of a friend I was introduced to Eli Haines, a remarkable elder, and was struck by the simplicity of his character together with plain good sense. I soon found that my excellent Friend was from Brownsville, and was accompanying a minister then attending the Yearly Meeting. I asked him of a boy named Eli Yarnall. He promptly replied that he had known him, and was present at a remarkable interview between him and John Hall, from England, then traveling in the ministry in America, and accompanied by Stephen Grellet. I asked him to relate the story without suggesting anything that could recall any part of it. The narration interested me greatly; [also] the [fact] that the remarkable

*This should probably read, In the latter years of the Eighteenth Century.—ED.

and sagacious narrator had no theory whatever by which to explain the wonderful features of his narrative. He was evidently absorbed in the memory of what had passed, and told it with the utmost simplicity.

On the following day, if I remember rightly, I found myself seated in the railroad car next to my long-known and beloved friend, Stephen Grellet. I asked him if he remembered anything of this occurrence. "Oh, yes," he said, and proceeded to tell me of what took place, in entire agreement with what Eli Haines had related a few hours previously.

On my return to the city [Philadelphia] I was inpressed with the desirableness of obtaining from Eli Haines the statement in writing. But some years were permitted to pass before I wrote to him to favor me with his narrative in writing. In the meantime some of the incidents mentioned by the dear old man had passed from my memory, though the particulars of the "seeing" remained quite clear. Soon after I received from my friend a letter, which I think it best to record at length correcting only a few errors in the spelling.*

Brownsville, 3rd mo. 11-12, 1863.

Dear Friend

Charles Yarnall:—

Thy kind letter came to hand in due time; the contents rather amused me than other ways, respecting some conversation that passed between us while in Baltimore. In the first place thou says, the occurrence took place at my house, which is a mistake, for I was then young and lived with my father in Virginia near Winchester.

John Hall and S. Grellet on their way from the South [1800] attended our Quarterly Meeting, held at Hopewell, and at the close of the meeting S. G. arose and said they were on their way over the mountains, and would like some young man to accompany them. It [was] then the commencement of harvest, a busy time. I felt willing, and my friends also (I went with them something like a waiting boy), and when we arrived at Red Stone** we made

*The original letter is in the possession of the Editor of the *Bulletin.*

**Red Stone belonged to Baltimore Yearly Meeting at this time.—[Ed.]

our home with Reece Cadwalader, being an elder and of good report, where Eli Yarnall then lived, a little boy about 12 years old, smart and active. One evening S. Grellet says to our friend Cadwalader, "We hear there is a young prophet some hereaway." [E. C.] "There he is," pointing to Eli, "we try to prevent young folks from those who ask questions they ought not, etc., etc. But, friends, if you would like, you may ask some questions. After tea will have him in private."

After tea we were invited in a private room separate from the family. Eli was called in and the friend R. C. said to Eli, "These friends wish to talk some with thee. Now, I wish thee to be sober and answer them soberly."

After a pause John Hall says, "Canst thou tell me how my family is? Are they well?" Eli putting his hand over his eyes, leaning forward, resting his elbow on his knee; in about one minute Eli replied, "I see them all undressing and going to bed." "What, going this time of day?" the sun was about setting. S. Grellet replied to John Hall, "Remember it is about 10 o'clock at thy house now." Eli [said], "All well and preparing for bed," and added, "There is a little babe among them." This was news to John Hall, who had been from home some two years or more, and had not heard from them for some months, but had a daughter married soon after he left home, but had [not] any such news as Eli tells of. [J. H.] "Eli, what sort of a house are those women in?" Eli: "I don't know. I believe it is stone but [did] not see any like it." Then J. Hall replied, "There is some white and marble on the corners, the rest is common in England." Eli had not seen such before. J. H. "Well, Eli, what is the house covered with?" His reply [was] "I do not know; it is not wood or kon [?] or leather, it is most black and not quite." J. H. "It is slate; thou hast not seen slate?" [Eli] "Yes, I see boys have slate at school." "Yes, Eli, it is slate"; and he took some pains so Eli could understand, etc. J. H. "Describe the yard." He did very well, and [said] there was a big road running in front of the house and yard, and there was a beautiful piece of woods on the other side of the road. J. H. "Well, what is there beyond those woods?" Eli, in a great surprize, lifting up his hands in amazement, "Oh, what a water!" (which proved to be an arm of the

sea.) J. H. "Correct." I do not remember that J. Hall asked any more questions.

Stephen Grellet. "Eli, canst thou tell some about my brothers?" "Yes, I see them all in a row." "How many?" He first said "six"—"No, not six, five." They dressed in a way Eli had not seen, and tried to describe; they were dressed uniform and well. S. G. "My father and brothers are what is called King's Life Guards." This is the substance of what passed that evening, and I do not remember that there was any more that time.

There were many reports concerning this remarkable boy, one I shall mention. Reece Cadawalader's wife told me there was a committee sent by Baltimore Yearly Meeting and my husband was one of the committee to visit the Indians out at Wahpoconeta. Whilst they were gone Eli was carrying some water for [the] house. She said to Eli, "Where and how is Grandfather?" [Eli] "I see them all walking through the woods." "They are all well?' "Yes, he fell down and hurt his wrist, and has a red cloth round his wrist; it is well now, and they will soon come home." And they did. She went out to meet her husband and friends, she espied the red cloth that Eli spoke of. "What is the matter with thy wrist?" "Oh," he said, "I was so clumsy, fell down and sprained my wrist; it is well now, thee may take it off." All much such like. This was in the [year] of 1800, in the 6th month.

When we returned from over the mountains [and] arrived at my father's, he had several letters for John Hall, and [he] stept into another room to read them. In a short time he returned with a smiling face, and said to Stephen [Grellet], "Remember what Eli told when my women were undressing and going to bed, he said there was a babe among them?" this is so—my letters inform that it is so."*

So now, dear friend, I have iterated much and fear thou will

*Stephen Grellet gives an account of the visit (though not of the boy) in company with John Hall in his Journal, Memoirs Stephen Grellet, by Benj. Seebohm, Vol. 1, pp. 69, 70. He was then twenty-six years old. He also refers to the visit to Baltimore Yearly Meeting in 1843, Ib. vol. 2, pp. 458, 459.—[Ed.]

be puzzled to read, for looking over it I see so much interlining and repetitions [I] thought I would transcribe [but] I fear I should not better it for I am now in my 83rd year, and when I take pen to write my [hand] shakes and cramps so can scarcely hold the pen. This thou wilt excuse and feel glad that I can [write] so much and hope that thou may get the substance, and excuse me for so much introduction relating to circumstances. And, further, I cannot remember Eli's father's name. A friend told me he thought his name was George. I will make inquiry and let thee know. I was glad to hear of one of Eli's daughters being a virtuous woman, my love to her when thou sees her, and to thee and thy household, and remain thy ever wishing Friend

Eli Haines.

Brownsville, 3rd mo. 26, [18]63.

Esteemed Friend:—

Thine of the 19th instant came duly to hand. I am glad thou did make out the contents of my scrawl to thee (it put me in remembrance of the man that wished to build a cottage house; when he finished he found that he had more porch than house, so with mine to thee). I think I promised to give the names of Eli's parents. Upon inquiry, the father was George and the mother Mary. They had two sons, Eli and Mordecai; our friend thinks there was a daughter. She married and went west. Mordecai learned the blacksmith's trade, and when he served his time he too went west. I can't learn the name of the daughter; as my friend E. is waiting I add this scrip; this is all that I can yet ascertain. Thou says thanks. Thou art truly welcome.

There were many accounts and stories concerning this remarkable seer, but I thought best to confine myself to what I witnessed and heard. Except the story of the red cloth round the wrist the rest I was present and heard. This from thy poor [but] I hope true friend.*

Eli Haines.

In the First month, 1870, I had been spending some weeks in Torquay, Devon, England. A Friend, Edward Richardson,

*This letter, not in the paper, has been copied from the original in the Editor's possession.

lent me a ms. volume containing a collection of anecdotes and letters, made by his father, the late well-known and respected Thomas Richardson, of Sunderland, Durham, relating to American Friends. Among these was the following extract of a letter from John Hall, of Cumberland (the friend mentioned in the letter of Eli Haines), addressed to J. H.'s wife, written immediately after the return of the party to Virginia, and giving a contemporary version of the same occurrence, and confirming essentially the statement of Eli Haines and our friend Stephen Grellet. John Hall being the party most interested in the revelations of the boy seer, and writing home to his wife relates those sayings which most affected him and her, and then his sons and their doings are told as reported, while other things which the other Friends had retained so freshly on their memories are less particularly given.

Letter of John Hall, of Cumberland, to his wife, dated "Mount Ridge near Winchester, Virginia, 15th of 7th month, 1800.

...Since my last I have been at Red Stone Quarterly, 157 miles north of this place, where I have met with a boy of about 12 years old, who is remarkable for seeing things at a distance. I asked him if he could see thee. He answered he could and said thou wast dressing thyself. I asked if could see my sons, how many I had. He paused a while, and said, "I see four, the oldest is packing goods in the shop and some people with him; the second is riding; and the two little boys are doing nothing." I asked if he could see Alice. He said he could and he could see she had three girls. He described Hannah's person, and said she was sewing and had a little boy. He told me I had six daughters. He seems a most extraordinary youth. All the above was perfectly correct. The name of the boy was Eli Yarnall. He was first discovered to have this wonderful gift when he was about (?) years old, by his laughing as he sat at home in the house. His mother inquiring the cause, he said, he saw his father returning from the market lose a keg (a jug of whisky) off his head and that it rolled down the hill and father ran after it. This proved to be the case and the keg (jug) breaking the whisky was lost.

He was at first not aware this gift was peculiar to himself, and thought that people had no need to ask him questions, as they might see for themselves. When desirous of seeing anything at a distance he was in the habit of shutting his eyes, and leaning his forehead on his hand, and seldom answered a question before he paused for some time. He was a steady religious boy, and when at any time he had done anything for which he felt reproof he lost his gift for a time".....

"John Hall asked him what his house was built of. He said he could not tell. It was different from what he was acquainted with. It was rough-cast. Having told some circumstances that incriminated certain men, they lay in wait to kill him, as he went to school, of which having a sense, his life was preserved, and the men were discovered, who confessed their wicked designs." *

[It is to be regretted that the author of the preceding paper did not give the subsequent history of Eli Yarnall. So far as the Editor has been able to ascertain, the boy grew up, but in his very early manhood became dissipated, and completely lost his gift. He died young.—Editor.]

A NEWSPAPER OF 1656.

There lies before the writer, through the kindness of a friend, a small quarto tract, of sixteen pages, 8 by 6 inches in size, "Printed in London by Thomas Newcomb dwelling over against Bainard's Castle in Thames-street." It bears the title, "THE PUBLIC Intelligencer, Communicating the chief Occurrence, AND PROCEEDINGS WITHIN The Dominions of *England, Scotland* and IRELAND: Together with an Account of Affaires from severall Parts of EUROPE. *From* Monday

*Copied verbatim from the Mss. Collection of Thomas Richardson of Sunderland, now in the possession of his son, Edward Richardson, of Torquay. This Mss. dated 1827. C. Y. Torquay, Devon, England, 1st mo. 23, 1870.

December 15 *to* Monday *December* 22, 1656." It is number 62, and is paged continuously, beginning with page "(1063)." There is no mention of price or subscription.

It is evidently one of those weekly "letter-sheets" as they were often called, published not only for the information of the Londoners but also of those, who, living in the counties, looked for most of their news either to private hands or to these papers.

All the items of news are dated and so it is possible to gain a very fair idea of how long it took news to travel in the middle of the seventeenth century. The first paragraph is headed "From St. Sebastian, Dec. 6"; the next, "From the Polonian Camp 8 Dec." The earliest date is "Constantinople 10 November," and the latest, "Saturday, 20 December. [1656.]"

It seems that a somewhat similar paper was published on Thursdays, for one paragraph reads, "To the end that" [certain items of information] may be sufficiently published to the other parts of the Nation where the Thursday-Book useth not to come, you have here reprinted what was before published....on Thursday."

As a very general war was raging on the continent it is natural that military affairs should take an important place in the paper, and there are no less than eighteen separate items concerning the war. There are some scraps of gossip and social news as the following, "His Highness [Oliver Cromwell] conferred the honor of knighthood upon Alderman Robert Titchborn, present Lord Major of the City of London. The like also upon Listebon Long, Esq. Recorder of the City of London." Another reads, "Brussels, Dec. 23, S.N.*....The Titular King of Great Britain seems still to be preparing to serve the designs of Spain upon England; but were you here in this Country, to see how things go with him at Bruges, you would say there were no great fear of him; his people about him are pitiful poor, and many that were listed are gone away to serve in other places,

*"S. N."—That is, Stilo novo, New Style. The Gregorian Calendar adopted at this time by most of the continental countries was not adopted by England until 1752. In the seventeenth century there was a difference of ten days, Dec. 23, N. S. being equivalent to Dec. 13, O. S.

and no more like to come on, at least not this winter. Here is great talk up and down the Country as if there would be a marriage made betwixt his Brother, called Duke of York, and the Inheritrix of Bergues." The "titular King of Great Britain" was Charles II. and this brother, Duke of York, was afterwards James II. No one then dreamed that in less than four years Cromwell would be dead and Charles restored to the throne of his fathers.

Only two "Advertisements" appear, and both are for the recovery of horses; the one, "a white mare about nine years old, fourteen handful high wanting one inch, both trots and paceth." For her return and the apprehension of "the party that hath her," five pounds is offered. The other is "a grey mare about 13 hand high, with a fine white Main and tail."....If any bring intelligence to Mr. Harris at the White Hart, at the Weyk by Kingston, they shall have very good satisfaction for their pains and charge."

The following is an item dated "From Paris, December 16, stilo novo." "The Doctors of the Faculty of Theologie assembled in the Colledge Sorbonne, to put in execution the Censure passed against the Doctrine of Iansenus, lately revived by Doctor Arnaud, are come to this Resolution, That all those who will not subscribe to the condemnation of the said Doctrine, shall be degraded and deprived of all the Rights of Doctorship, with all their honors, Priviledges, and Emoluments. And in case any person shall at his death professe the said Doctrine, none of his Brethren shall be present at his Funeral, nor shall solemn Masse be said for them, nor shall they bee remembered with the yearly service, which useth to be performed every year after the decease of each of their Doctors."

Seven pages, beside several short notices, are given to the case of James Nayler. This, being a strictly contemporary account, is full not only of historic interest, but of pathos also. The reader cannot wonder at the feeling that such conduct as was publicly exhibited by Nayler's followers, should lead to the punishment of him who was the occasion of it. That the proceedings were not recognized as those of mad enthusiasts is, perhaps,

too much to expect in that day of superstitious beliefs. The whole incident should be regarded rather as an illustration of the character of the times than as any special resentment against James Nayler and the Quakers. Almost, if not quite, as harsh treatment was meted out to any great offenders against Church or State. Good examples are the case of Titus Oates, under James II., thirty years later (1685),* and that of Alexander Leighton, 1630, by the Court of Star Chamber.**

It is not needful to go into the particulars of Nayler's fall and the wild vagaries of his followers. It is sufficient to say that the matter made a great stir in the kingdom. The official records show that the case occupied the attention of Parliament for the greater part of ten days. It was, according to the paper before us, on "Wednesday 17, 1656," that he was personally brought "to the Bar of the House for those high Crimes whereof he had been found guilty, which judgment was as followeth:

"That James Nailor be set on the Pillory with his head in the Pillory in the new Pallace [Yard], Westminster, during the space

*Oates convicted of perjury in connection with the so-called Popish Plot, was sentenced to pay a fine of two thousand marks; to be stripped of his canonical habit; to stand upon and in the pillory for an hour the next Monday before Westminster Hall gate, with a paper over his head declaring his crime; upon Tuseday to stand in the pillory for an hour at the Royal Exchange with the same inscription; on Wednesday he was to be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate, and upon Friday he was to be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn by the common hangman; that on the 24th of April of each year he was to stand in the pillory at Tyburn opposite the gallows; and that on every 9th, 10th and 11th of August and 2nd of September he was to stand in the same respectively at Westminster Hall gate, Charing Cross, the Temple gate, and the Royal Exchange; and to be a close prisoner as long as he lived. Doutbless it was expected that he would not survive the first part of his sentence, but, strange to say, though the sentence was rigidly carried out, and the flogging was savagely performed with a whip having six thongs, Oates did survive. Year by year he was brought out to be pilloried, until 1689, when he was pardoned and granted a pension in consideration of his sufferings, and illegalities in his trial. See Somers' Tracts, vol. 9, p. 239; Littell's Living Age, vol. 181, p. 149.

**See Bright, English History, vol. 2, p. 631; Masson, Life of Milton, vol. 1, pp. 404, 405.

of two hours Thursday next, and shall be whipped by the Hangman through the streets from Westminster to the Old Exchange, London, and there likewise be set upon the Pillory with his head in the Pillory for the space of two hours, between the hours of eleven and one on Saturday next; in each of the said places wearing a Paper containing an Inscription of his Crimes. And That at the Old Exchange his Tongue shall be bored through with a hot iron, and that he be there also stigmatised in the forehead with the letter B [for Blasphemer]. And that he be afterwards sent to Bristol, and conveyed into and through the said City on a Horse bareridged, with his face backward, and there also publickly whipped the next Market day after he comes thither. That from thence he be committed to prison in Bridewel, London, and there restrained from the Society of all people and kept to hard labor till he shall be released by Parliament; and that during this time he be debarred from the use of Pen, Ink, and Paper, and shall have no relief but what he earns by his daily labor."

Nayler was not left to the mercies of Parliament without efforts made on his behalf by his friends. The account goes on to say that endeavors were made "to justifie him," and "papers delivered up and down to Parlament men and other Persons in authority." "The said Papers were dispersed by three of the Princes of this new Quaking Kingdom, viz. Robert Rich well known in London, William Tomlinson, and George Fox." Of these papers, one by Tomlinson and two by Fox, are given. If they are true copies, as they probably are, it must be confessed that the writers had a rather hard time. These papers are couched in general terms, no mention is made of Nayler by name, and the chief arguments are against all persecution. There is an effort to show that bowing to man by man may be a figure, and if it is allowable to kneel before a judge, may not kneeling before another man be a figure also, if it be done in the truth. After the sentence by Parliament, it is not surprising that the editor of the newspaper should say that "in obscure and canting terms he [George Fox] justifieth the bowing down, kneeling, doing honor to, or worshipping of Nailor." How far this judgment

was from Fox's true attitude towards the matter is abundantly evident from his Journal.*

It is further stated, "Westminster, Thursday, 18 Dec. This day James Nailer stood in the pillory in the Pallaceyard two hours, and then was whipped to the Old Exchange; from whence he was conveyed to Newgate, in order to the execution of the rest of the Sentence passed upon him." Again, on the same day, we have the following: "Several petitions presented to the House, containing Complaints against the growth and exorbitances of the people called Quakers, were this day read." Under "Saturday, 20 Dec., "A Petition was exhibited by several persons on the behalf of James Nailer, for a respight of his further punishment, because of some present weakness; and thereupon the house did order, That the further punishment of James Nailer, which should have been on this day, shall be suspended till this day seven night, and be executed on him then, and that the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, do observe this order accordingly. The house also desired some reverend ministers to go and confer with the said Nailer, to endeavor his conviction and reducing."*

There are a number of other interesting matters in this old paper. Words ending in "or," as labor, endeavor, etc., are invariably spelled without the "u"; there is also the usual indifference to rule in the spelling of proper names; we have on the same page Naylor, and Nailor, and elsewhere Nailer, while on the title pages of his books it is generally Nayler.

The publisher or printer, Thomas Newcomb, according to

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*See Journal of George Fox, 8th ed., vol. 1, pp. 259, 327, 328; Rufus M. Jones's Abridgment, pp. 269-271. See also for the Nayler episode, Carlyle's Cromwell, Part 9, Letter 203; Part 10, Letter 217.

The names of Robert Rich and William Tomlinson do not appear in Fox's Journal. Rich had been a Ranter, and later went off with John Perrot (1661). He died, 1679. See the graphic account of his connection with the persecution of Nayler, in Sewel's History of the Quakers, pp. 137-160; also p. 291, ed. of 1725. William Tomlinson was quite an author, and the list of his works takes up nearly three pages in Smith's Catalogue of Friends' Books.

*Five noted public preachers, Caryl, Nye, Manton, Griffith and Reynolds, were sent. Gough, History of the Quakers, vol. 1, p. 242.

Plomer ("Booksellers and Printers, 1641-1667, London, 1907."), was one of the chief printers of London. In 1654 he printed John Milton's Second Defence of the English People ("Pro populo Anglicano Defensio Secunda). In 1668 he had three presses, a proof press, one apprentice, seven compositors and five pressman, evidently having one of the largest printing houses in London. He died 1681.

The paper is in excellent preservation, and is valuable and interesting as throwing light on the period, and as furnishing contemporary evidence as to matters of historic interest.

BARCLAY'S APOLOGY AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE AT AIX LA CHAPELLE, 1748.

INTRODUCTION.

One of the most active and useful organizations in the Society is the "Meeting for Sufferings," of London Yearly Meeting.* That its efforts at the present time are confined by no narrow limits is well known to all Friends, but the following paper indicates that it was no less broad in its scope in the Eighteenth Century. The meeting of the Ambassadors at Aix La Chapelle, in 1748, was to try to end formally the desolating and, with the exception of Prussia, fruitless war, known as the War of the Austrian Succession—a conflict only brought to a conclusion by the exhaustion of the belligerents. The Meeting of Sufferings appears to have thought the coming together of so many prominent public men, from all over Europe, a favorable opportunity to attempt to influence them, and also to bring the real

*For those who are not familiar with the organization of the Friends, the following definition, taken from "Christian Discipline of the Society of Friends" (vol. II, p. 59), is given: "The Meeting for Sufferings (so-called from the nature of its original object) is a standing representative committee of the Yearly Meeting, and is entrusted with a general care of whatever may arise during the intervals of the Yearly Meeting affecting the Society." In most of the American Yearly Meetings the analogous body is called "The Permanent Board."

character and doctrines of Friends before the sovereigns of Europe. To carry out their purpose, we gather from the paper that they employed Jan Wanderwerf, one of the few Friends of Amsterdam, Holland, to present to each representative at Aix La Chapelle two copies of Barclay's Apology in the language with which any given ambassador might be most familiar, accompanied by a letter (probably of explanation). That the Friends were not mistaken in their own ambassador is very clear from his naive account before us. It is scarcely likely that any apparent effect was produced by this piece of mission work, yet the interest shown by London Friends and the effort made are worthy of great praise. Barclay's Apology was doubtless far better suited to the minds of the Eighteenth Century than it is to the minds of the Twentieth Century. One can hardly imagine the London Meeting for Sufferings sending copies of Barclay's Apology to the Russian and Japanese conferees at Portsmouth, 1905, or to the members of the Berlin Conference in 1878, a gathering more nearly analogous to that of Aix La Chapelle.

The paper herewith printed has been taken from what appears to be a contemporary copy which is in the collections of the late Charles Roberts of Philadelphia. The document is in a very dilapidated condition, but legible. Whether it has been printed before or not is unknown to the writer. It seems, however, to be worthy of preservation in a more permanent shape. It would be interesting to have a copy of the letter which accompanied each present. Probably this would be found in the Records of the Meeting for Sufferings. A. C. T.

Occurences which happened in delivering Barclay's appologies at the request of the meeting for Sufferings in London to the following Ambassadors met to conclude a Peace at Aix La Chappelle in the months 7ber and 8ber, 1748 by me Ian Wanderwerf of Amsterdam.

N[ew] S[tyle]. 1748, 7ber 2. With the Imperial Ambassador Count Caunitz. delivered three Books High Dutch, one for the Emperor one for the Empress Queen, and one for him the Ambassador, with a Letter. He received me Kindly, and having read the Letter and Title of the Book, He asked on what occasion I brought him them, and having answered him, He asked further

If I had the Books in other Languages. I answered yes. He then asked if I had been or Intended to go to any other of the Ambassadors I answered I intended to go to the other Ambassadors though had not yet been; He then desired one in French if I could spare one, which I promised, and send him in the afternoon one Book French. He asked the Bearer if I had been with any other of the Ambassadors, and being answered yes with the Ambassadors Sandwich, St. Severin, though the Porter of the Last being a Switzer refused me admittance to which the Ambassador said, I should try again tomorrow morning, Clapping the messenger on the Shoulder.

Ditto. With the Ambassador of Great Britain Earl of Sandwich delivered two Books English, one for him and one for his First Secretary, and after He had read the Letter he Thanked me and said He should do his best towards so good a work.

Ditto. With the First French Ambassador Count St. Severin went to him the second time, and delivered him the two Books and Letter he gave the Letter to his Secretary who read it and said to the Ambassador it is about Religious affairs on which St Severin said to me, He had no Occasion for it, and Thanked me giving them back again.

28, 7ber. With the second French Ambassador Du Thiel who said I should go to the Ambassador St. Severin, and having acquainted him I had been there, He said neither could He receive them.

Ditto. With the Second British Ambassador Robinson. He was Engaged, but delivered to his Secretary Two Books English, one for the Ambassador and one for His First Secretary who was very affable and Friendly.

Ditto. With the Prussian Ambassador very Courteously received, and delivered him two Books High Dutch, one for the King and one for himself, and had a pretty Long Conversation with him on Religion with respect to Baptism, the Supper and Preachers office etc. asking who was the first that taught the Doctrine of the Quakers, saying further we should come into Prussia, where we might Enjoy all Freedom, promising one Book should be delivered to the King:

With the Spanish Ambassador Marq. de Soto major, very

Kindly received, and delivered to his first Secretary two Books Spanish one for the King and one for the Ambassador. He having carried them to the Ambassador and after some time returned and offered me in the Name of the Ambassador a Large peice of gold, for which I Kindly thanked him and told Him I could not accept it. The Secretary returned and acquainted him therewith. He then Invited us into his Anti Chamber, and desired us to accept a Dish of Coffee, Chocolate or what else we Chose, for which we also thanked him. He said would take care to let the King have one book, and his Secretary took down my name and place of abode. I then took my Leave of Him.

With the Bavarian Ambassador gave His Secretary ye Books and Letter and having carried them to the Ambassador and returning asked what I must have for them, the Ambassadors did not desire them for nothing, but on my refusing to take anything He went in again, and returned acquainting His Excellency did not desire the Books without paying for 'em and otherwise I must take them again, on which He went away. Then I took the Books but Left the Letter.

7ber, 30. With the First Hollands Ambassador Count Bentick, delivered him two Books Hollands, one for him and one for His Secretary with a Letter for him (the Ambassador) which when He had read, He received it Kindly and thanked me for the present.

With the second Hollands Ambassador Baron Waesner, He was not in the way, but His first Secretary received me Kindly and took two Books Hollands, one for the Ambassador and one for himself, also the Letter, which He promised to deliver to the Ambassador, asking my name and Place of Abode which he wrote down.

With the Ambassador of the Prince Hereditary Stadtholder O L. van Haaren. he was Engaged yet his Secretary rec'd me Friendly, but said He was doubtful whether He might receive them before He spoke to the Ambassador, asking me If I been with the other Hollands Ambassadors, I answering yes. He then asked if they had accepted them, I said yes. He then took two Books Hollands with ye Letter promising to deliver them one for the Prince and one for the Ambassador asking where I Lodged.

With the Sardignian Ambassador Count Chevannes, delivered him two Books Latin, one for the King and one for himself. He Received me Friendly, He was at a Loss because He might not pay for them wishing He could talk with me Himself, and Thanking me for the present.

With the Genoese Ambassador Marquis Doria, P'sented him with two Books Latin, one for the Doge and one for himself with the Letter, which He received Friendly and asked from whence I came, and having answered him from Holland, He asked if any Quakers Lived in Holland, but as this passed in French and the mean time He Looked into the Letter, He asked if I could speak Latin, I answered no, but I could speak a little English. On which his Secretary asked me in English if there were many Quakers in Holland. I said few though in England many. He further asked if the Books came from the Society in Holland, I said no, but that my Friends in England had sent them to Amsterdam to me Requesting I would Deliver them to the Ambassadors at Aix La Chappelle, Each in his own Language, at which he seemed to admire saying he would willingly have returned a present but that he had already understood from the Spanish Ambassador I desired nothing for them wh. he was sorry for and therefore heartily thanked us desiring his Respects and Thankfullness with offers of Service to the Society and heartily wished he could have Conversed with me without an Interpreter.

8ber 1st. With the Ambassador from Poland and Saxony. Delivered to him two Books High Dutch, one for the King and one for him with a Letter, and after he had read it he Kindly thanked me, saying he would take care to let the King have one Book, and asked if there were Quakers at Aix La Chappelle.

With the Ambassador of modena, Count mongone, Kindly received, and delivered him two Books Latin, one for the Duke and one for him with a Letter. He promised his principal should have one and thanked for the present, saying he had already heard of me.

With the Hanoverian Ambassador, was asked by one of his Servants what I wanted, I answered I had a small present for the Ambassador. He asked what it was, I answered two Books, High Dutch one for the Ambassador and one for his first Secre-

tary, and shewing him the Books he desired to know if he might open them. I desired he would not, being willing to present them to the Ambassador myself, and that I had also a particular letter for the ambassador, asking him if he was his Secretary, he said no, the ambassador had none with him, on which he went to the ambassador and returning desired the Books, the ambassador being Engaged, and having given him the Books and Letter, he read the Letter and Carried them to the ambassador and returning said the ambassador thanked me but could not speak to me being ill.

8ber, 2. With the Pope's Nuncio. Requested me very Friendly to come in, In the Convent of the Dominicans, and delivered to him two Books Latin, one for him and one for the Pope with a Letter, which he read aloud, there was some part of it seemed to displease, saying he should take an opportunity to answer in writing asking if any Quakers lived at Amsterdam, and how many, asking also in what Language the Books were, I said Latin, and having looked in them He asked if I was [a] Quaker, I answered, yes. He said further there were many Christians and many Books wrote, but True and Real Christianity consisted in obeying the Commands of Christ, to which I fully assented. He asked further what Religion my forefathers were off. I asked for how many Generations he meant. He answered for a Thousand years or for three or four Generations. I answered I knew no otherwise but that my very first forefathers were Believers in Almighty God and in his Son Christ Jesus and in his Grace to the Sanctifying their Conscience. To which he answered that is a good Faith, yet there were some necessary Circumstances required to attend it and asked If I thought any under the Catholick Religion would be saved. I answered I had no freedom to Judge of another man's Conscience. He answered every one must have a Faith or Judgement in him or Else there would be no Difference between Heathen, Jew, Turk, or Christian, therefore you may certainly Judge in this Case. I Friendly desired to be Excused from Judging my fellow mortalls, for I found no freedom to Judge any other than myself; but as this was done by Interpretation it was very Difficult. The Nuncio further asked what I must have for them. I said

nothing, yet he pressed very much for me to take some Recompence, but I said it was recompence sufficient for me if he took the Books, being one for his Principle and one for himself, which seemed to please him and He thanked me for the present.

8ber, 3. With the Swedish Ambassador, very Friendly Received and delivered two Books High Dutch, one for the King and one for him with the Letter. He Thanked me saying he would deliver the Book, but he was not satisfyed till I sat down with him. He offered me Coffee or Chocolate asking me further if I brought the Books from England and if I had signed the Letter. I answered no, but it was signed by the Principal men of our Society in London. He said also he had already heard of my affair, to which I said I did not know that there was an ambassador from Sweeden at Aix La Chappelle he being Incognito, otherwise I should have waited on him before, on wh. I took my Leave and he wished me a good Jorney.

NORTH CAROLINA TO INDIANA IN 1824.

BY CHARLES F. COFFIN.

[The following paper, by our friend Charles F. Coffin, is a fitting supplement to his previous papers in the *Bulletin,* on Friends in Indiana (vol. 2, pp. 2-11; see also vol. 2, p. 24). It is reprinted in full by permission from *Western Work,* April, 1909, Oskaloosa, Iowa.—EDITOR.]

In the spring of 1818 my father, Elijah Coffin, made a journey on horseback from North Carolina to Indiana and back. During this journey he saw different parts of the state and looked from that time towards removing. He married two years later and continued to reside in Guilford county North Carolina, until 1824, when he says in his journal: "My wife's father, Benjamin Hiatt, having determined to remove to the western country with his family, we set off together, leaving our native state in the Eighth month of 1824. We were favored to reach the neighborhood of Milford, Indiana, in about four weeks, in which we settled, and I took up a school in the village of Milton."

They left their native state with regret. While the soil in many places had become impoverished it had a delightful climate and beautiful forests and their friends and associates of a life time resided there, but the existence of slavery and the consequent troubles likely to arise, which afterwards did arise, led them to remove to a free state.

My father and mother at the time had two children, Miriam Allinson, aged about three and one-half years, and Charles Fisher, aged about eighteen months.

When it was found that they had settled on removal, a number of their friends joined the party, which finally increased, including children and grown folks to about forty. There were no public conveyances between the two states and turnpike roads were unknown at that time. In order to perform the journey they procured two-horse wagons, covered with white cotton cloth to protect them from the rain and weather. Such wagons were very familiar in Indiana a few years later, 1830-40 and '50, as there were large numbers of movers passing frequently over the national road from Ohio and Indiana to the western states. They camped out at night and took with them only such bedding, tents, and clothing as seemed essential. They had also to provide articles of food which would supply them through the journey, gathering on the way additional provisions as they needed, for themselves and their horses. No doubt they presented a picturesque and interesting appearance as the large number of wagons passed in procession along the way. They averaged probably twenty to thirty miles a day and when night came usually stopped beside a stream where they could obtain a supply of water, erect their tents and spend the night. They traveled slowly and had frequently to double the teams; that is, taking four horses upon one wagon and going back for the other. Of course, when able to do so, they walked, and I have heard my aunt, Esther Hiatt, (afterwards Dickinson) who was a young girl at the time, tell of leading me up the mountains, which, of course, must have been very slowly, as I was a small child.

It was in many respects a wearisome way of traveling, but had its compensations. They enjoyed the outdoor life and the interesting scenery through which they passed and when they camped

at night there was quite a circle around the camp-fire, for enjoyment and rest after they had partaken of their evening meal. They took their course through western North Carolina and a portion of Virginia to the Cumberland Gap, through which they passed into the Blue Grass Region of Kentucky. Here they found a road which had been traveled for many years, entitled the "Wilderness Road" upon which they continued their journey to the Ohio river at Wayne county, Indiana, to the village of Milton.

The facts here narrated were gathered during the life time in conversations with my parents and those who accompanied them.

I am indebted to my sister, Mary Coffin Johnson for the following:

"Our aged uncle, John Hiatt, just before his death, gave me many particulars of the emigrating colony from North Carolina to Indiana. He recalled the long, tedious journey with great clearness, and indeed made the narrative so interesting that I fortunately took notes of what he said from which I extract the following:

The emigrant colony numbered, as has already been stated, about forty, including children, who were all members of the Society of Friends, and born and brought up in Guilford and Randolph counties, North Carolina. Many of these were near kindred. They started from Guilford county on the 20 of August, 1824, and were four or five weeks on the journey, reaching Milton, Wayne county, Indiana, very early in October. Milton was then but a hamlet containing a few log houses.

There were in the company, the following:

Benajah Hiatt, Elizabeth Hiatt, his wife, and their two daughters, Esther and Hannah Hiatt.

Charity (Williams) Hiatt, mother of Benajah Hiatt.

Elijah Coffin, Naomi (Hiatt) Coffin, his wife and their two children, Miriam Allinson and Charles Fisher [author of this paper].

John Hiatt, Rebecca Hiatt, his wife.

Lydia Jessup, a young woman who was brought up by Benajah and Elizabeth Hiatt.

Miriam Macy, a near relative.

Driver Boon, Anna Boon, his wife and two children, Rachel and Rhoda.

Michael Weasner, Rebecca Weasner, his wife and four children.

Michael Jr., Abigail, Jonathan and Ruth.

Mrs. Mendenhall, mother of Mrs. Weasner.

Isaac Hodson, single young man.

Levi Bowman, single young man.

Lydia Gordon, single young woman.

Miriam Baldwin, single young woman.

Charity (Williams) Hiatt was then upwards of 74 years of age. She lived in Indiana fifteen and a half years and died at Spiceland, Henry county, March 17, 1840.

John Hiatt and his wife, Rebecca, who was the daughter of Josiah and Rebecca Unthank, had been married but six months, the date of their marriage being February 24, 1824, taken from their marriage certificate, on setting out for Indiana.

The Hiatt party had one covered wagon and one which they called a carriage. They carried a tent in which the family slept every night, except two during the entire journey. The bride, Rebecca, and her husband lodged in the wagon.

While traveling in the mountains in Virginia on the way they camped in the vicinity of Joseph Hiatt's and visited him and his family. Joseph Hiatt was the youngest child of our great great grand parents, George and Martha Wakefield Hiatt. He never removed from Virginia.

Our parents spoke in after life of the toilsome journey over the mountains, and of the grand wild scenery. The road, when there was one, was exceedingly poor and rough. The trails were bad and there were no bridges. They were forced to hitch logs of trees they cut by the way, for brakes to the wagons when descending the steep rugged places.

The few mountaineers they saw were living in rude log cabins, on an exceedingly low plane of civilization and morality, steeped in ignorance, shiftless and coarse. Drink was the prevailing curse. They raised small patches of barley and Indian corn, from which they manufactured liquors in domestic stills, erected on the springs, brooks and creeks.

With few exceptions these Quaker emigrants were all young active persons, enjoying excellent health and of good habits. They were a valuable addition to the early settlement of the then young state of Indiana.

CAROLINE EMELIA STEPHEN.

In the death of Caroline Emelia Stephen, Fourth Month 7th, 1909, the Society of Friends loses one of its ablest writers and most distinguished members. She was born in 1835 and came of a family remarkable for literary and legal attainments. Her grandfather, James Stephen (1758-1832), was a well-known barrister, a brother-in-law of William Wilberforce, and an active supporter of the anti-slavery movement; he was a member of Parliament, and published, in his old age, "Slavery in the British West India Colonies Delineated," 2 vols., 1824, 1830. He was an adherent of the so-called "Clapham Sect." Her father, Sir James Stephen (1789-1859), was a Colonial Under-Secretary of the British Government, and from his ability and long service had great influence; he prepared the bill for abolishing slavery in the British Colonies; was made K. C. B. and Privy Councillor, and was Professor of Modern History at Cambridge (1849-1859). His "Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography" (1849), after going through several editions, have been republished within a few months and are of much interest; the essays on "Hildebrand," "The Port Royalists," "The Founders of Jesuitism," give vivid pictures, which live in the memory of those who have read them. His "Lectures on the History of France," (1851) 2 volumes, are still of much value for the history of the early political institutions of that country.

Her brother, Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, Baronet (1829-1894), was, like his father, a barrister; was a distinguished judge; Professor of Common Law at Inns of Court; K. C. S. I., 1877; D.C.L., Oxford, 1878; LL.D., Edingburgh, 1884. He was a frequent contributor to *Fraser's, and Cornhill* magazines, to the *Saturday Review,* and to *The Pall Mall Gazette.* His chief works

are: "The Criminal Law of England," "History of the Criminal Law," "Story of Nucomar."*

Another brother, Sir Leslie Stephen (1832-1904), was widely known for his literary work, and was the editor, until his health failed, of the great "Dictionary of National Biography." He published, "History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century," "Life of Henry Fawcett," "Life of Sir James Fitzjames Stephen," "Hours in a Library," "Studies of a Biographer," etc. He was a contributor to *Fraser's Magazine, Pall Mall Gazette, Saturday Review,* and was editor of the *Cornhill Magazine,* also of the *English Men of Letter Series,* to which he contributed the volumes on Johnson, Pope, Swift and George Eliot.

A nephew, James Kenneth Stephen (1859-1892), son of Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, had the reputation of being one of the ablest men and greatest wits of his day at Cambridge. He published a volume of verses.

With such ancestry and such surroundings it is not surprising that Caroline Stephen shared in the ability of her family. Her brothers gave up the faith of their fathers and became strong agnostics, and it seemed possible that she might follow their example. How it came about that she did not, may be told in her own words: ...."In 1872 I first found myself within reach of a Friends' Meeting, and, somewhat to my surprize, cordially made welcome to attend it. The invitation came at a moment of need, for I was beginning to feel with dismay that I might not much longer be able conscientiously to join in the Church of England service; not for want of appreciation of its unrivalled richness and beauty, but from doubts of the truth of its doctrines, combined with a growing recognition that to me it was as the armor of Saul in its elaboration and in the sustained pitch of religous fervor for which it was meant to provide an utterance....The questionings with which at that period I was painfully struggling were stirred into redoubled activity by the dogmatic statements and assumptions with which the Liturgy abounds, and its unbroken flow left no loophole for the utter-

*His contributions to the *Saturday Review* were collected under the title "Horae Sabbaticae." The writer of this notice once saw the book put under works on the Sabbath.

ance of my own less disciplined, but to myself far more urgent cries of help....I do not attempt to pass any judgment on this mental condition....At any rate, it was fast leading me to dread the moment when I should be unable either to find the help I needed, or to offer my tribute of devotion, in any place of worship amongst my fellow-Christians. When lo, on one never-to-be-forgotten Sunday morning, I found myself one of a small company of silent worshippers, who were content to sit down together without words, that each might feel after and draw near to the Divine Presence, unhindered at least, if not helped, by any human utterance.'....My whole soul was filled with the unutterable peace of the undisturbed opportunity for communion with God—with the sense that at last I had found a place where I might, without the faintest suspicion of insincerity, join with others in simply seeking His presence. To sit down in silence could at least pledge me to nothing; it might open to me (as it did that morning) the very gate of heaven." (Quaker Strongholds, pp. 2-4, 4th edition, London, 1907.)

As is indicated by the above extracts from her deeply interesting account, it was the mystical side of the doctrines of Friends that specially appealed to her, and that this is so is shown by all her writings, and is beautifully set forth in the concluding paragraph of the "Preface to the Edition of 1907 (4th)" of "Quaker Strongholds":

"To be willing to give up the outward for the inward, the surface for the central depth, the seen and temporal for the unseen and eternal, is the very law of spiritual life and growth. Let us resolutely obey that law; and then though our Society may dissolve and pass away, our customs and traditions may be altered, our very thought may be changed and corrected by the power of truth, yet the Light shall shine more and more—the Light which shines in the innermost and central region of our being and of all being—the Light of the Spirit—"the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ"—the glory of the Cross. This is the central Light of Life."

In the 90's she took up her residence at "The Porch," Newnham, near Cambridge, and made that her home for the rest of her life.

Her chief works, so far as known, are: "The Service of the Poor," being An Inquiry into the Reasons for and against the establishments of Religious Sisterhoods for Charitable Purposes," London, 1871; "Quaker Strongholds," London, 1890, 4th edition, 1907; "The Right Honorable "Sir James Stephen, K.C.B., LL.D., Letters with Biographical Notes by his daughter Caroline Emelia Stephen, Printed for Private Circulation only [Gloucester] 1906"; "Light Arising, Thoughts on the Central Radiance, Cambridge and London, 1908." This, her last volume, is a collection of papers "written on various occasions and at considerable intervals," from "the point of view of Rational Mysticism."

No one of our generation has written more clearly, more forcibly, or more sanely on the "Inner Light." The "Rational Mysticism" meant, she defines, as "emphatically a consciousness of the clear shining of spiritual light; of the light of truth as to whatever is deepest and most permanent and far reaching in its spiritual import and ethical character; the light by which we are led to prefer high and noble ideals to any mere self-gratification; the light in which we see that he who will save his life shall lose it, and that there is nothing worth having in exchange for our souls."

The great divergence of her religious views, from those of her distinguished brothers, in no degree lessened her affectionate and cordial relations with them.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

COLLECTIONS IN FRIENDS' MEETINGS.—It is probable that few Friends are aware that collections were formerly made in meetings. From the accounts of the treasurers of Chester Monthly Meeting, Pennsylvania, some interesting items are obtained. The particular meetings composing this were known at first by the names of the persons at whose houses they were held, as Bartholomew Coppock's (Springfield), Thomas Minshall's (Providence), and John Bowater's (Middletown). The first accounts are those of Walter Faucet.

1692

1 mo. 7 d. to 2lb 8s 1d now received in cash of ye generall collections.

2 4 to six shill more rec'd in Cash at Chester meeting Collection ye 27th of ye first mon. Last.

to five shill. & four pence half peney rec'd of bartholomew Coppock for ye two last Collections of that meeting.

2 24 to sixe shill & sixe pence rec'd in cash this day of Chester meeting Collection.

to two shill & three pence rec'd now in Cash from John Boweter's meeting Collection.

Thomas Minshall's Meeting is first mentioned in the 11 month. There was some irregularity in the returns at first, but as conditions improved they appear to have been made monthly, and especially after 1695, when Randal Vernon became treasurer. These returns were made at the monthly meetings, but whether the collections were made in the several meetings weekly or monthly cannot be stated, though probably the latter. It was noted, 10 Mo. 28, 1696, there were no collections "by reason of a great meeting at Concord yesterday," and in the monthly meeting "It is ordered at this meeting that there bee a perticular Colection in every first Days meeting on the accompt of Jeremiah Langly, and to bee brought to the next monthly meeting."

7 Mo. 27, 1697: "Colections was omited, having Colected for ye relief of friends in new england." Elsewhere the amounts collected for this purpose appear thus: Coppock's, 8-0-6; Minshall's, 1-8-0; Bowater's, 8-8-5; Chester, 13-6-0, or a total of £31-2-11.

On 7 Mo. 29, 1701, "There is no Colections brought to this meeting therefore it is disayred to be dubled the next time." When the original minutes were transcribed by Thomas Chalkley, about 1709, he changed it to read, "itt is agreed that Care bee Taken next time."

The next report was not till two months later, when something more than double the usual collections appear. The collections for the year 1704 amounted to £23-3-5. No accounts have been preserved after 1705. After 1700 the names of Providence, Springfield and Middletown appear.

GILBERT COPE.

THE GEORGE FOX LOT IN PHILADELPHIA.—In No. 3 *Bulletin*, Vol. 1, p. 89, a question was asked concerning this property. Prior to 1867 the author of *The Fells of Swarthmoor Hall* applied to Philadelphia Friends for some definite information regarding it. The following from their reply sheds some light upon the subject:

"In the year 1681, William Penn gave to George Fox a receipt for £25, which was to entitle him to a city lot in the newly planned city of Philadelphia, a liberty lot of sixteen acres in the suburbs, and a tract of 1,250 acres in the back lands of Pennsylvania. The above sum being a necessary item to secure a legal transfer. There being no one in America interested in getting these lots of land located and properly conveyed to George Fox, nothing was done to perfect the possession until after his death.

Some years after that event Thomas Lower took measures to have the lots surveyed, and his father's directions concerning the way in which they should be used made fully known. In the mean time the city lot had been taken possession of by a settler and built upon etc. William Penn then authorised Friends to select twenty or twenty-five acres, according to the locality fixed on in the neighbourhood of the city,—instead of the sixteen and the city lot first proposed. After much delay, the transfer was accomplished on the 28th day of 6th Mo. 1705, and for many years this was merely occupied as pasture ground.

Eleven years later, on the 13th of 12th mo. 1716, Thomas Lower wrote to David Lloyd—William Penn's deputy—concerning the ground bestowed by George Fox. He said George Fox gave it in writings to the Friends of Philadelphia to be converted to these uses.—To build a meeting-house for the use of Friends, upon another part a school-house, and to enclose another part for a garden, and to plant it with all sorts of physical plants, for the lads and lasses to learn simples there. and the uses to convert them to, —distilled waters, oils, ointments, &c. The residue, belonging to the lot near Philadelphia to be paled about for Friends that come to the Meeting to put their horses in."

"Thomas Lower, in this letter, seems to be remonstrating with Friends for not having carried out the expressed wishes of the donor ....As to the garden, which was to be planted with all sorts of physical plants for the botanical studies of the lads and lasses of Philadelphia, the Friends of that day it is evident did not enter into the views of their honoured and revered friend who presented the ground for that purpose....

Fifty-one years later, in 1767,

collateral heirs of George Fox,—descendants of his brother John,—several of whom had settled in Pennsylvania, came forward to claim this property. Some informality in the transfer, or the failure to appropriate to the purposes specified by George Fox, seemingly led to their action. Legal arbitration followed, and the Friends to obtain a clear title to the property, were obliged to pay $2,500 to these claimants.

In the early part of the last century, by the joint approval of the five monthly meetings in Philadelphia, the ground thus obtained was all sold for building lots, except a portion which constitutes a part of the Fair Hill burial-ground, which is the property of the Green Street monthly meeting, now composed of 'Hicksite' Friends."

In *The Fells of Swarthmoor*, is also found this rather interesting supposition regarding the special lot queried after.

"George Fox's idea of inaugurating a Philadelphia Botanic Garden, so much in advance, as it appears, of the age he lived in, and so little as we might suppose likely to be suggested by his own pursuits, may find a solution in the fact that Thomas Lawson, the famous botanist, was his and the Swarthmoor family's intimate friend. And Lawson was more than a mere botanist; the medical properties of plants claimed his especial attention. Croese, speaks of him as the greatest herbalist in England; and we may remember that one of the items copied from the Swarthmoor account book proves that he gave the family at the Hall instruction in the medicinal use of herbs.

That George Fox, under these circumstances perceived the importance of promoting such tastes and researches as his Philadelphia plan embraces, is in no way surprising" [pp. 392-398].

M. G. S.

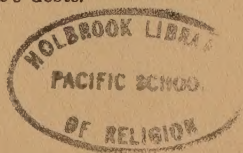
MARRIAGE OF ROBERT EWER TO WILLIAM CODDINGTON'S WIDOW.—Watson's Annals of Philadelphia, Vol. 1, p. 301, states that the widow of William Coddington Esq. became the wife of Robert Ewer, (a Friend, owner of Black Horse Alley, Philad.) Date of item 1693.

Is there any known record of this marriage?

MARY G. SWIFT.

Millbrook, N. Y., 26-4-09.

SIR MATTHEW HALE AND QUAKER MARRIAGES.—The following incident is taken from the preface by Dr. Gilbert Burnet, Lord Bishop of Sarum, to the "Contemplations, Moral and Divine," by Sir Matthew Hale, Kt. (1609-1676), late Chief Justice of the King's-Bench. It is contained in the old book published in 1745, in Glasgow, by R. Urie and Company, for J. Gilmour, Bookseller, opposite Gibson's Land. It will be remembered that at the common law, a man upon marriage assumed his wife's debts.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"He was a devout Christian, a sincere protestant, and a true son of the church of England; moderate towards dissenters, and just even to those from whom he differed most; which appeared signally in the care he took of preserving the Quakers, from that mischief that was like to fall on them, by declaring their marriages void, and so bastarding their children; but he considered marriage and succession as a right of nature, from which none ought to be barred, what mistake soever they might be under, in the points of revealed religion.

And therefore in a trial that was before him, when a Quaker was sued for some debts owing by his wife before he married her; and the Quaker's council pretended, 'That it was no marriage that had past between them, since it was not solemnized according to the rules of the church of England'; he declared, that he was not willing, on his own opinion, to make their children bastards, and gave directions to the jury to find it special. It was a reflection on the whole party, that one of them, to avoid an inconvenience he had fallen in, thought to have preserved himself by a defence, that if it had been allowed in law, must have made their whole issue bastards, and incapable of succession; and for all their pretended friendship to one another, if this judge had not been more their friend, than one of those they so called, their posterity had been little beholding to them." F. R. T.

CERTIFYING MEETING HOUSES, 1689, 1700.—[The two following documents illustrate some of the difficulties which Dissenters from the Church of England had to contend with in England in the Seventeenth Century. William III. would have had freedom of worship, but the English Parliament would not consent. All places of worship not belonging to the State church had to be registered, and the services had to be open to the public and with unfastened doors. The Parliament also refused to repeal laws passed during the previous reign to suppress non-conformity, but made them of none effect by special acts exempting those breaking the laws from any penalty. The documents are from the collections of the late Charles Roberts.—ED.]

Bucks. These are to Certifie all whom it may concern that at the generall Quarter Sessions of the Peace holden for the county aforesaid at Heffing Wycomb upon Thursday next after the close the ffest of St. Michaell the Archangell (videlt) The Tenth Day of October in the first year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady William and Mary by the grace of God of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King and Queen Defenders of the ffaith etc. The meeting place called Tylers Scituate [?] being in the Hamlet of Seare Green in the parish of Ffarnham Royall in the County aforesaid not inhabited was in open Co'rt Certified to their Ma'ties Justices of the Peace

to be a public meeting place for Religious Wor'pp for the people called Quakers And is recorded at the said gen'all Quarter Sessions according to the direction of an Act of this pr'snt Parliament Entituled An Act for Exempting their ma'ties Protestant Subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the Penalty of certain Lawes.

Signed and Dated the fourteenth day of October in the first year of their said ma'ties reigne Anno Di'ni 1689.

THO SMITH (? ?)

22 May 1700

These are to certifie whom it may concern that there is a house built on purpose for the Religious Worshipp for the people called Quakers at the West end of the Oakstreet in Abington in the county and Archdeaconry of Berks which said house is Certified to and allowed of by the Archdeacon of Berks for the use aforesaid and Registered in his court according to the Act of Parliam^t in that case made and provided witness my hand

JO GREENWAY REG^R.

The Friends' Historical Society is indebted to Joseph H. Coates of Philadelphia, for a bundle of old vouchers of John Reynell, a Treasurer of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in the Eighteenth Century. The papers range from 1755 to 1782 and cover many points of interest. The receipts were the Treasurer's personal vouchers. It is hoped to make use of these papers in a future number of the BULLETIN.